

# By JOSEPHUS DANIELS

Former Secretary of the Navy.

"Let the Conference in Washington Feel That Armistice Day Is a Sacrilege Unless in 1921 It Ushers In the Reaping of the Sacrifices of the Men Who Fought and Died by the Adoption of a Workable Plan to Bring a Warless Era."

NEXT Friday, whether in ordinary occasions it is lucky or unlucky, is to be a holy day in America. As the prelude to the gathering of the Disarmament Conference, the President of the United States is to march at the head of a distinguished procession through the National Capital while all America uncovers and does honor to the men of the allied forces, whose sacrifice and valor terminated war at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of the year 1918.

I wonder if the people of America—and other allied nations also—can ever forget the thrill and solemn thanksgiving when the knowledge that war was over fully dawned upon them? It seemed too good to be true. More than four long years it had gone on, with the cost of 7,354,000 men who were killed in battle or died of their wounds and not less than one hundred and fifty billion dollars in money. This was not the whole cost, for it is estimated that war in disease and famine as well as in battle demanded the lives of thirty million men, women and children, while six thousand ships, including two hundred warships, were sunk.

The ecstasy of joy that swept over the world on November 11, 1918, was heightened because it came sooner than military leaders dared to hope. Nobody in France who was anybody ventured to predict the end of war before the summer of 1919 and most of them feared it might run into 1920. It is well on this Armistice Day celebration to remember that the hopes of concluding war in the late summer of 1919 rested upon the knowledge of America's ability by that time to put four million men on the fighting line and stud the seas with craft and mines to destroy the submarine menace.

## AMERICA'S ONLY HOPE.

The four years of war had caused such losses in man power in Britain and France and Italy as to make it impossible for those noble people to add greatly to their man power or ships or munitions. All they had was enlisted, of men and women and possessions. But the loss of millions of the flower of their youth and the exhaustion of resources made any large new strength in overshadowing numbers dependent upon a mobilized America. The glory of it was, too, that America was fully mobilized and had gotten its gait so well that from the early summer of 1918 the world saw there was no limit to its willingness and ability. It was that knowledge that seeped into all minds in Germany in the fall of 1918 that weakened the morale and hastened the end. I wish to emphasize this fact on the Sunday before this Armistice Day. Two notions, without shadow of foundation, have been dinned into the ears of the world, tending to dishonor America's dead and America's fighting men who came back. They are:

1. That it was a mistake to have signed the armistice, that the soldiers on the front opposed such inconclusive ending of the war, and that if the soldiers had been consulted their vote would have been "on to Berlin" no matter what the cost. As we prepare for this armistice celebration it is not wise to remove these misconceptions produced by a well-organized propaganda. I have talked to soldiers who were on the front that day—to eminent commanders and to privates. "There was no such feeling," said the ablest of the younger generals. "On the other hand, there was thanksgiving beyond words to express. The men were ready to go forward if necessary to win the American demands. But they would have felt they were ordered to be murdered if their leaders had persisted in war when the enemy was ready to accept fully the conditions President Wilson had imposed and which the allied nations had endorsed as the joint demand."

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But it was a blessing to the world that the German civilians, seeing the inevitable, forced capitulation rather than invite destruction.

2. On this Armistice Day, it is well also to recall the facts to confound the well-oiled propaganda of minimizing what America did in the war. Nobody anywhere minimized America's part in 1917 when its money and material and ships stayed the tide until its manpower could be poured into France at the rate of 300,000 a month in 1918. In the early part of 1917 the Europeans felt that if America could finance the allies that was all that could be expected in the first year after its entrance. But we went in with every ounce of power on sea and land as fast as human energy could make possible and far more rapidly than the allied nations believed we could train, equip and transport a great army.

Speaking of the complete mobilization of industry and men they were then enthusiastic in their rejoicing. It remained for uninformed Americans, or disappointed ones, or small-bore partisans, to set on foot criticism of what America had done to light the fire to the flame of lack of appreciation abroad which was never felt until the United States refused to do its part toward world stability. If the men under arms crossed the seas because "they were afraid not to fight" and if the slander is true that we did not expend every energy from the day war was declared to hasten the winning of the war—if these things are true the celebration of Armistice Day by America calls for putting on sackcloth instead of holding the head high with consciousness of full partnership with all allied peoples who wholeheartedly gave their all in the struggle.

## EFFORTS APPRECIATED.

I was in Europe in the early days after the signing of the armistice. Not only was there sincere gratitude and a feeling that America had done all that was possible, and far more than any military men thought it could do, but there was a dependence upon the United States to lead in bringing stability to the world. They did not believe peaceful conditions could be restored unless the United States took the lead. It was not until we turned back, after putting our hands to the plow, that Europe listened to American partisan slanders and began themselves to repeat the parrot-talk, voiced by George Harvey, that we were slow in going in, slow in getting over, and that we had not much hand in the victory.

When came these two organized propaganda? They were born in the minds of partisans who cared more for trying to discredit the Wilson administration than for American honor.

But next Friday, when men of all parties and creeds and tongues, march in honor of Armistice Day, the whole people will rejoice in the wisdom of great allied leaders that the armistice was signed on that glorious day. They see in it—or hope they do—the coming in some form of a world agreement that shall reap the fruit of lasting peace for which millions of men died in 1914-1918.

## CAUSE OF CHAOS.

Many of us believe that the suffering and chaos and disasters of the past year would in most part have been averted if the United States had promptly ratified the Treaty of Versailles and entered the League of Nations. In my opinion that failure by the Senate of the United States is responsible for most of the world drifting and depression and

## Russian Royalty in Want as Jewels of Princes Are Pawned

PARIS, Nov. 5.—Twenty per cent commission on ten million dollars is reported here to be going begging in England owing to the aversion of English rich men to "take a chance."

The ten million is the value placed on the jewels of the late Grand Duchess Vladimir of Russia, who was Duchess Marie-Pavlovna of Mecklenburg. They have been discovered in the vaults of a London bank, where the Duchess is said to have placed them in security for a loan. This refutes the story that they were stolen by the Soviets.

The children of the Grand Duchess, who are in England, want the jewels but cannot have them until they pay the loan, which is stated to be \$1,250,000. Hence the large percentage they offer to whoever comes to the rescue with that sum. Not only will he get the ordinary percentage on the \$1,250,000, but in addition 10 per cent on the realizable value of the jewels when they are sold. Temerity on the part of London financiers, who are reluctant to credit the alleged history of the gems, is the reason the sum has not been forthcoming.

TWO MEMBERS of the preceding Administration who transmit through The Washington Times their views on the Limitation of Armaments Conference which opens here this week.



JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Former Secretary of the Navy. THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Former Vice President of the United States.

## By ADMIRAL FISKE---

"Japan Has Concentrated the Whole Mental, Moral, and Spiritual Force of the Nation on Strengthening Its Armament to Assure the Physical Safety of the Nation, While Americans Have Unvaryingly Neglected the Arts of War During Peace, With the Result That Every War Has Cost Us Lives and Bloodshed Wholly Disproportionate to the Necessities."

This is the fifth of a series of articles by Rear-Admiral Bradley Allen Fiske, U. S. N., on armaments. The next will appear next Sunday.

By REAR-ADMIRAL BRADLEY A. FISKE, U. S. N.

IN 1853 America and Japan came face to face when Commodore Perry presented President Fillmore's letter that virtually ordered Japan to open her ports to trade. At that time the United States of America, while a little republic of no recognized importance in the world, was nevertheless a highly civilized nation that had successfully resisted Great Britain in two wars and had produced Washington, Franklin, Morse, Irving and others, who stood as high as any of their time in war, art, science, literature, etc.

Japan was a mere barbarian island, much less known by the rest of the world than is San Salvador or Costa Rica now, and just as helpless as they are now toward any hostile act that any great power might undertake.

Today these two countries occupy the most conspicuous positions in the world, and possibly the most important. The United States, because of the drain made on Great Britain by the direct and indirect expenses of the war, seems to stand at the head of all the nations in the various kinds of material wealth, while Japan seems to stand at the head in armament.

## Japan Still Gaining.

The United States lacks adequate armament, while Japan lacks adequate wealth. As conflicting interests in the matter of foreign trade in Asia, reinforced by racial disputes in California, have placed them in delicate mutual positions, and as a war between them would probably entail a greater expenditure of effort and money than any war yet fought in the history of the world, the situation is the most important and exciting situation on this earth.

One of the interesting thoughts suggested by it is that, ever since 1853, Japan has been gaining on the United States, and that she seems to be still gaining. Another interesting thought is that if the two nations should go to war, Great Britain would probably carry supplies and ammunition to both.

Another thought is that, because of this, and because of the virtual certainty that both Japan and the United States would become financially exhausted by the war, Great Britain would soon resume her place as leader of the world.

The United States and Japan, having met in 1853 on stages of civilization and the world power that were far apart, and having now reached stages that are close together, it may be interesting to reflect upon the methods which those nations have pursued during the intervening years.

The first thing which we notice is that the methods, while alike in some features, have been so different in others as to be almost contrary. The methods which are alike are mainly commercial and industrial methods which Japan copied from Europe and America. The methods which have been the most unlike have been the armament methods.

If both countries have followed the same models in developing their respective armaments, how can it be said that their methods have been different?

Because Japan has followed Germany's methods strictly, and we have followed them loosely; because Japan has concentrated the whole mental, moral and spiritual force of the nation on strengthening its armament; while we have not concentrated on anything, but have divided our forces among many problems, such as prohibition, suffrage, party politics, etc. This does not mean that they have always kept such problems subordinate to the main problem of assuring the physical safety of the nation.

The ever-present and continuing foresight of coming war on the part of the Japanese produces automatically an ever-present and continuing condition of preparedness in Japan. This condition is not merely in the army and the navy, but in all branches of the government and all classes of the people.

## War Losses Heavy.

Preparedness in the army and navy is merely the result of a previously existing preparedness in the minds of the governing statesmen and the people. For just as no man can move his arm until the determination to do it has been accomplished in his mind, so no army and navy can move toward preparedness until the determination to do it has been accomplished in the minds of the governing statesmen and the people.

This does not mean that every ignorant individual must understand and agree to all the plans developed by his government, but it does mean that, in every strong and coherent nation, the government, the people, the army, and the navy must act in mutual accord—like the mind and the arms of every living man.

In Japan, every effort is made to keep the army and navy at the highest point of preparedness all the time. To make this possible, all the statesmen are compelled to study strategy and the strategists to study statesmanship. By this method the statesmen and the strategists are made capable of understanding each other, with the result that plans which are good from the point of view of both the statesmen and the strategists can be prepared in time and are prepared in time.

In the United States, on the contrary, the statesmen know virtually nothing of strategy, and the strategists know virtually nothing of statesmanship. The result has been that we have never yet gone into a war with any plans that were satisfactory to either.

Another result has been that every war has cost us an amount of lives and bloodshed wholly disproportionate to the necessities of the case. Another result is a national debt and finally an income tax that are shameful, because they were caused by a neglect of the national safety that was shameful.

Japan, on the other hand, has made money or its equivalent out of all her wars, and has gained continually on the United States.

In my next article, I hope to discuss briefly the question of which would whip, if the United States and Japan should be forced to go to war.

# By THOS. R. MARSHALL---

Former Vice President of the United States.

"A Real Cloud Lowers Over Disarmament Conference Because of Situation Between France and Germany—It May Burst Into a Cyclone or It May Be Lifted by Britain and America Guaranteeing France Against German Aggression."

HOPE is universal in America that good may come from the Washington conference on the limitation of armament. We preach and we pray that it may be so. Such little influence as I possess is being thrown to it. I have everywhere urged my fellow citizens to assume and maintain an attitude of optimism. I have sought in this way to preserve a sympathetic atmosphere.

It will do no harm, however, for Americans to ponder certain questions which to my mind run to the root of the subject. These questions have to do with the stand of the United States in relation to affairs of the world. Whether rightfully or wrongly, we followed the scriptural injunction to "Come ye apart from among them and be ye separate." Our position is one of aloofness from the world of which we are a part.

Prior to the war two-thirds of the world's business was done by Europe and more than one-half of the exports of the United States went to European countries. Europe is now in a state of collapse. Her industries are practically idle.

## EXPENSIVE ARMY.

There is some dispute as to the cause of European depression. Some are inclined to think that blood hatred is exercising a paralyzing influence, but be this as it may, all agree that the depreciation of European currency, the demoralization of industries by the war and the necessity of purchasing machinery and material in an appreciated market have much to do with the blighted economic situation.

Academic discussion as to whether Germany can or cannot, will or will not, meet her reparation obligations is interesting, but not helpful.

One fact stands out, and that is that the French government is maintaining under arms fully three-quarters of a million men, while the German government has been compelled to cut its army to 100,000 men. Antipathies between France and Germany are greater since the war. It is not worth while to discuss fear psychologically—what causes it or whether it has any basis in fact. Fear exists.

The French people believe, in light of their awful experience with Germany, that, as a nation of forty millions, they are constantly in danger from an ancient enemy of not fewer than sixty millions. France therefore is staggering under what she deems to be the necessity of maintaining her "great protective armament."

Quite naturally the people of France feel that unless the German empire be dissolved into its constituent states, which would then be kept busy watching each other, or unless France receives some assurance of protection from the great powers of the world, another attempt will be made sooner or later to overrun her territory. Eternal military vigilance is the price of her liberty.

GERMANY'S FEAR. Germany, on the other hand, is said to be fearful that, should British and American troops be withdrawn from the Rhine, France will seek opportunity to declare that the empire has not lived up to its agreement and will advance her armies upon German soil and take reparation in kind for the damages and injuries she suffered at the hands of imperial troops.

With Germany entertaining this view, it is not at all strange that she does not exert herself to the utmost in an attempt to rehabilitate her industries. If she really believes that there is danger of French invasion it is quite natural that she should desire that the victor obtain as little as possible.

It is therefore to be hoped, pending the long-drawn-out endeavors to reach a state of world peace, the United States army of occupation will not be completely withdrawn, even though peace has been established between this country and Germany.

How can conditions in Europe measurably grow better so long as this state of mind, which may reflect a real condition, exists between France and Germany? What hope of peace or of normal trade is to be entertained so long as animosities are backed up by armaments such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Rumania maintain? Czechoslovakia, with only fourteen million inhabitants, has a standing army of 150,000 men. Poland has an army of 200,000. The economic situation of the world depends upon the settlement of the military and naval program of the world.

Thus the conference soon to be held at Washington is of transcendent importance to the peace and to the business world. It will not do merely to tell France and Germany, with their age-old hatred of each other, that there is no danger. The imagined as well as the real condition must be considered.

## URGES GUARANTEE.

Accompanying the Versailles treaty, when it reached the Senate of the United States, was another treaty, which had been negotiated between this country and France. This treaty promised that until the United States entered the League of Nations, and until the territorial

integrity of France against external aggression had been guaranteed by the league, the United States would go to the assistance of France in the event that Germany sought again to make war upon her.

A similar treaty between France and Great Britain was negotiated. What greater proof is needed of genuine fear by France of future military aggression against her on the part of Germany? Her assent to the Versailles treaty, which left Germany intact, was granted only by reason of the triple alliance.

Conditions have not changed for the better since then. It will help, of course, to reduce the naval establishments of the world, but the real redress to people who are suffering from the cost of preparation for future wars will be found in the limitation of the military establishments of the world.

Let us not be deceived; a real cloud lowers over the coming conference because of the situation between France and Germany. It may burst into a cyclone and sweep the conference into oblivion. May God forbid!

Such a catastrophe would not only leave the world burdened with armament expenditures and impede, perhaps permanently, restoration of normal conditions of peace and business, but it would destroy the hope that has sprung up in the nations of the world.

I am well aware that there is a singular distaste to America having anything to do with the politics and diplomacy of European governments.

Yet I make bold to suggest that the cloud, which threatens the success of the conference, may be lifted by Great Britain and America guaranteeing France against German aggression.

PLAN FOR CUT. We might be compelled to keep the promise, but men who live by probability will agree that a mere statement of intent will have much the same effect that declaration of the Monroe doctrine had.

The treaty which accompanied the Versailles treaty died of inanition when the Versailles treaty met its death. A similar declaration by the Congress of the United States would probably result in a workable plan by the conference for the limitation of armaments.

Such a declaration would, in my opinion, prevent any war worth speaking of. It would pave the way for reductions of armaments and their future limitation. This would place the economic world on its feet, and save to the American people a half-billion dollars a year. (Copyright, 1921, by Thomas R. Marshall.)

# By GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

(Tiger of France, War Premier and "Grand Old Man" of Europe Whose Political Activities Seem to Be Beginning All Over Again)

Remarkable Speech of Remarkable Man on Remarkable Occasion of Unveiling of "The Watcher," a Sculptured Memorial to His Own Great Deeds Containing a Figure of Himself as Central Feature of Artistic Group Erected as Tribute of All France.

PARIS, Nov. 5.

IT was on the eve of the great German offensive of July 14, 1918. Look at those faces, contracted with supreme energy. Hanging upon the words of "The Watcher" are men who breathlessly sought to catch a sign from him. He is silent, but coming down from his mound he did not say so when a decision was spoken of as being approaching.

Spotted by the divine Pollux and his friendship so beautiful that he gave to them his whole heart, why should he show this reserve when they had given him all their confidence? The great day was indeed far distant. But the hope of the soldiers is something that cannot be played with.

We were on the hills of Champagne, guarded by Gouraud and Pétain. On that very spot a decisive part of the drama was about to be played. In a mystery that was not betrayed by formidable preparations were being completed. In order that everything might happen as arranged it was necessary to save all the costs the rampart formed by this great wall of chalk.

In "The Watcher" it is not difficult to see the figure of M. Clemenceau himself. It is indeed thus that this statue depicts him. Then, with vigorous and incisive language, the speaker drew a picture of how, as he returned down to the plains, he was met by a detachment whose officer, handing him a bunch of dusty flowers, declared: "We answer for everything." Thus it was, M. Clemenceau concluded, that France was defended.

(Turning from the war M. Clemenceau went on to speak of

victory, the alliance, and the need of vigilance. "We should not be worthy of ourselves," he said, "if we had been able to forget.")

It is none the less apparent that the test of the alliance came when the arms fell from our enemies' hands.

I had a clear sensation of this from the very first moment, and its prompt confirmation has not been lacking. He who abandons the long tradition of wars against the same adversary in order to enter our ranks can unconsciously fall back into an instinctive tendency to see things in their old shape. On this head does it not suffice to appeal to the sentiment of all the peoples of the alliance, as well as to a mature reflection of statesmen?

## NEED FOR VIGILANCE.

Our war of the entente would be a mockery if it had not forever closed the door to a policy which is so clearly exhausted. All of us have need of the others. It is on the rule of today must be neither to dominate nor to be dominated—a peace of equity for the whole world. But there must be no postponement of the duties of the moment, otherwise a day would come when it would be no use saying "I did not understand"; for France there is nothing but to live in a peace of justice, or to perish.

How has it come that Germany has been allowed to forget that she had "to bend the knee at Versailles?" Yesterday we were victors; let no one bring us to the point of asking ourselves if we are still so today.

With a view to the maintenance of peace our Allies had felt the necessity of offering us their assistance without waiting for a French negotiator to ask them for

it. They signed with this object engagements about which some day there will be some talk with them. Thanks to the reserves in the treaty, their acts at that moment will decide ours.

## GERMANY VERY NEAR.

France's security leads me naturally to the Washington conference. I observe—perhaps with some irony—that "people are busying themselves in a magnificent fashion with safeguarding the peace of the world up to the farthest East." It is an enterprise for which full success must be wished, but France, too, formed part of the world, and while the Pacific ocean is very far away, the German frontier is very near.

Must this not be taken into account?

But purely military dispositions do not suffice for the safety of a country, which in these days depend on the justice of its cause, although to what is right must be added the foresight of statesmen.

The Washington conference might find in the present state of things a good enough opportunity for correcting the faults of execution which today are apparent. Here more than ever the interests of the people are interdependent. Everywhere in France the appeal would be listened to for assuring—even in preference to a world organization, which is always uncertain—the lasting conditions of a European peace without which no foundations can be laid. America wishes general peace as much as England and France.

It was the sense of her intervention on our side against Germany. What a strange episode if she had only convoked the representatives of civilization in order to notify them of her disinterestedness in the higher cause of humanity for which she was willing to shed her blood. That cannot be.